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Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 AECE-00 /079 W
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O 041835Z DEC 74
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9184
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T USNATO 6774

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: SPC DISCUSSION DECEMBER 4 OF EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL

REF: A. STATE 264705 B. MBFR VIENNA 0466 C. USNATO 6715

1. AT DECEMBER 4 MORNING SPC MEETING, DIFFERENCES AMONG ALLIED REACTIONS TO EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL PERSISTED. CANADA AND BELGIUM SHIFTED POSITIONS TOWARDS SUPPORT OF COUNTERPROPOSAL. OTHER REPS TOOK ESSENTIALLY SAME POSITION AS IN REF C.

2. DRAWING ON REFS A AND B, U.S. REP (PEREZ) EXPLAINED WHY U.S. FAVORED RESPONSE THAT WOULD NOT REJECT EASTERN PROPOSAL OUT OF HAND BUT WOULD POINT UP DEFECTS AND WESTERN RESERVATIONS IN MANNER THAT WOULD PROTECT WESTERN POSITION WITH RESPECT TO PUBLIC OPINION. UK REP (LOGAN) ARGUED STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF COUNTERPROPOSAL WHICH HE SAID WOULD PROVIDE BEST POSITION FOR EXPLAINING TO PUBLIC WHY
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PRESENT EASTERN PROPOSAL WAS INADEQUATE. LOGAN SAID UK SAW NO DANGER OF BEING DRAGGED INTO NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS OF EASTERN PROPOSAL PROVIDED COUNTERPROPOSAL INCLUDED POINTS ESSENTIAL TO WEST. BE BELIEVED REPORTS OF INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS AT VIENNA

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INDICATED LINE EAST MIGHT TAKE IF IT LEAKED ITS PROPOSAL, I.E.
THAT THE EAST HAD MADE A RESONABLE SUGGESTION WHICH WEST HAD
REJECTED. LOGAN SUBMITTED REDRAFT OF UK PROPOSAL (TRANSMITTED
AT THE END OF THIS MESSAGE). HE SAID THERE WAS MINISTERIAL LEVEL
INTEREST IN LONDON IN THIS APPROACH.

3. FRG REP (BOSS) SAID BONN FAVORED PRESENTING COUNTER-REACTION
WHICH WOULD INTRODUCE CENTRAL OBJECTIVES OF WEST INTO DISCUSSION
OF FREEZE. IF EAST WAS READY TO DISCUSS FREEZE ON THIS BASIS
WEST WOULD HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS. WEST SHOULD PROPOSE
DECLARATION OF INTENT WITH REGARD TO FREEZE RATHER THAN FORMALIZED
COMMITMENT LIKE UK DRAFT. FRG WOULD NOT WISH TO LIST PARTICIPANTS
AS IN UK DRAFT SINCE THIS COULD SUGGEST NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS.

4. NETHERLANDS REP (BUWALDA) FELT U.S. APPROACH WOULD NOT MAKE
CLEAR ENOUGH TO PUBLIC WHY WEST HAD REJECTED EASTERN OFFER. EAST
WAS IN TACTICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION AND COUNTERPROPOSAL WAS
NECESSARY. NETHERLANDS COULD SUPPORT UK DRAFT BUT WOULD PREFER
IT BE CAST IN TERMS OF DECLARATION RATHER THAN BINDING COMMITMENT.
CANADIAN REP (ROY) SAID OTTAWA WAS STILL STUDYING UK AND U.S.
SUGGESTIONS. TENTATIVE CANADIAN VIEW WAS THAT TO PROTECT POSITION
WITH RESPECT TO PUBLIC OPINION WEST SHOULD RESPOND POSITIVELY BY
SAYING IT WOULD BE READY TO ACCEPT A FREEZE AT SOME POINT
WHEN CERTAIN BASIC WESTERN CONSIDERATIONS WERE MET. BELGIAN
REP (BAL) FELT U.S. APPROACH WAS TOO NEGATIVE. HE FAVORED
A BRIEF, POSITIVE RESPONSE SAYING WEST COULD ACCEPT EASTERN
PROPOSAL IF IT INCLUDED ESSENTIAL WESTERN REQUIREMENTS.

5. ITALIAN REP (SPINELLI) SUPPORTED U.S. APPROACH. ROME
BELIEVED SOVIET OBJECTIVE IN PRESSING FREEZE WAS TO CODIFY
DIFFERENCES IN EAST AND WEST FORCE LEVELS. ANY TEMPORARY
AGREEMENT TO SOVIET APPROACH COULD BECOME PERMANENT. PUBLIC
OPINION WOULD NOT ALLOW WEST TO GIVE UP FREEZE IF LATER WESTERN
CONDITIONS WERE NOT FULLY MET. AS FOR PUBLIC OPINION, WEST
WOULD BE ON SOLID GROUND IN SAYING THAT IT HAD PROPOSED NOT
ONLY A FREEZE BETWEEN PHASES, BUT ALSO EDUCTIONS.

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6. UK REP ARGUED AGAINST ITALIAN LINE AND SAID IT WOULD NOT BE
ADEQUATE FOR THE WEST TO TAKE PUBLIC POSITION WHICH SIMPLY
REFERRED BACK TO EARLIER WESTERN PROPOSALS. NETHERLANDS REP
EXPRESSED VIEW THAT REAL POINT OF COMPARISON WAS BETWEEN
SITUATION WHERE MBFR WAS NOT ACHIEVING ELEMENTS OF INTEREST TO
THE WEST AND POSSIBILITY OF A FREEZE WHICH WOULD AT LEAST PRODUCE
A LIMIT ON EASTERN FORCES. FRG REP NOTED THAT WEST WOULD BE
IN WEAK PUBLIC POSITION IF, AFTER WEST TURNED DOWN EASTERN FREEZE
PROPOSAL, EAST INCREASED ITS FORCES AND WESTERN GOVERNMENTS WERE
OBLIGED TO REQUEST LARGER DEFENSE EXPENDITURES.

7. U.S. REP NOTED THAT AT VIENNA EAST APPEARED INTENT ON GETTING
WESTERN ACCEPTANCE IN PRINCIPLE TO FREEZE PROPOSAL AND ELICITING

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COUNTER OFFER. MAIN CONSIDERATION WAS THAT IF WEST PROCEEDED AS EAST SUGGESTED, FOCUS OF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD SHIFT TO FREEZE PROPOSAL. THIS MOVE WOULD UNDERCUT EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE CENTRAL ALLIED OBJECTIVES IN MBFR AND COULD CONTRIBUTE TO ESTABLISHMET OF FREEZE AS DE FACTO SITUATION.

8. IN SUMMING UP, CHAIRMAN (KASTL) NOTED DIFFERENCE OF VIEWS AND PRESSING NEED TO SEND PROMPT GUIDANCE TO VIENNA. HE SUGGESTED THAT IS PREPARE DRAFT COMPROMISE ELABORATING REASONS WEST COULD NOT ACCEPT PRESENT EASTERN PROPOSAL WHILE LISTING AT SAME TIME ELEMENTS WEST WOULD CONSIDER ESSENTIAL IN ANY FREEZE. SPC AGREED TO THIS PROCEDURE AND DECIDED TO CONTINUE MEETING IN AFTERNOON DECEMBER 4 TO CONSIDER SECRETARIAT DRAFT.

9. BEGIN TEXT OF UNITED KINGDOM COUNTERPROPOSAL:

THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM, CANADA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE
GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG, THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS, THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE ONE HAND,

THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE OTHER HAND,

BEGIN PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND
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POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS ON SUCH A REDUCTION,

GUIDED BY THE DESIRE TO SUPPLEMENT THE IMPROVEMENT OF POLITICAL RELATIONS IN EUROPE WITH CORRESPONDING MILITARY MEASURES AND THUS TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE,

CONVINCED THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP MUST BE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUITY AND OF PARITY BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES,

DESIRING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT AT THE NEGOTIATIONS OF SPECIFIC RESULTS AND TO REFRAIN FROM ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT HINDER THIS,

DECLARE

THAT FOR A PERIOD OF 12 MONTHS FROM 1 JANUARY 1975 NEITHER SIDE WILL INCREASE THE AGGREGATE TOTAL OF ITS GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER

PERMANENTLY STATIONED IN CENTRAL EUROPE BEYOND THE LEVEL EXISTING ON 1 JANUARY 1975, NAMELY ------- MEN IN THE CASE OF NATO AND ----- MEN IN THE CASE OF THE WARSAW PACT,

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THAT, PROVIDED THE TWO SIDES ARE SATISFIED WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THIS COMMITMENT SHALL BE RENEWED AND FRESH DETAILS OF THE SIZE OF FORCES SHALL BE REESTABLISHED, AT THE END OF THIS TWELVE MONTH PERIOD,

THAT THIS DECLARATION DOES NOT IN ANY WAY PREJUDICE THE TERMS OF POSSIBLE REDUCTION AGREEMENTS.

END TEXT.
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LONDON
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